

THE

BISHOP of SALISBURY's

AND THE

BISHOP of OXFORD's

SPEECHES

IN THE

HOUSE of LORDS

On the FIRST ARTICLE of IMPEACHMENT

OF

Dr. HENRY SACHEVERELL;

AND ALSO,

The Bishop of *Lincoln's* and Bishop of *Norwich's*

SPEECHES

At the Opening of the SECOND ARTICLE of the said

IMPEACHMENT.

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L O N D O N :

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## The Bishop of SALISBURY's Speech in the House of LORDS, &c.

**T**HE Council for the Prisoner did so plainly and fully yield all that any Loyal Subject has ever pretended to, that in Cases of extream Necessity, Self-defence and Resistance were Lawful, and that this was the Case at the Revolution; that it may not be necessary to say any thing further on this Head, if it had not been that the Evidence they brought seemed to carry this Matter much further, and that the Prisoner himself allow'd of no Exception, in Cases of Necessity. And since it is grown to be a vulgar Opinion, That by the Doctrine of the Church of England, all Resistance in any Case whatsoever, without Exception, is Condemn'd; I think it is incumbent on me, who have Examined this Matter long and carefully, to give you such a clear Account of this Point, as may as fully satisfy you as it did my self.

I served in the Revolution, and promoted it all I could. I served as Chaplain to the Late King: I had no Command, and carried no Arms, but I was so far engag'd in it, that if I could see that I had gone out of the Way in that (and the many Up and Downs we have gone thro' since, has given much Occasion to reflect on that Transaction) I should hold my self unworthy to appear longer, either in this Habit, or in this Great Assembly: But should think my self bound to pass away the rest of my Life in Retirement or Sorrow. There is nothing more certain in Religion, than that we ought to repent of every Sin we have committed; and that we cannot truly repent, unless we repair and restore as far as it is in our Power.

I go now to give you the Account of the Doctrine of our Church in this Particular. In the Times of Popery it was a Tenet, built upon Bishops setting the Crown on the Heads of Princes, and Anointing them, that they held their Crowns of the Church, and at the Pope's Mercy; who had for about 500 Years got into the Claim of deposing them, and giving their Dominions to others, in case they were Hereticks, or the Favourers of them. But the Reformation being in its first beginning protected by the Princes of Germany, by the Kings of the North, and then by the Kings of England; they came every where in Opposition to the Papal Notions, to say that Kings had their Power from God: Not that they meant, that they had any Distinct Authority besides the Law of the Land derived to them from God; but that by the Laws of God, the Authority of the Law of the Land, was secured to them. For when a different Authority from that of the Law came to be pretended to, and to be grounded on these general Expressions, that received here a Parliamentary Censure, and it was then declared that the Laws of Religion in the Scripture did only establish the several Constitutions and Governments that were in the different Parts of the World.

The Occasion that the Apostles had to write what we find in their Epistles, with relation to Government, was this; The Jews had a Notion among them from a Passage in *Deuteronomy*, that they were only to set a King over them, *One from among their Brethren, and not a Stranger*. From Whence it is, That to this Day they do not think they are bound in Conscience to Obey any Magistrate, who is not one of their Nation. Now the first Converts to Christianity being Jews, the Apostles took care that they should not bring this dangerous Notion with them into the Christian Religion: But they did not meddle to determine where this Authority was lodg'd, that was to be gather'd out of the several Consti-

tutions: They did not determine how much was due to the Emperor, and how much to the Senate: And tho' not long after those Epistles were writ, the Senate condemn'd Nero to dye *More Majorum*, to be whipt to Death; none of the Christians interposed in that Matter. He prevented that infamous Death by his own Hands: And the Primitive Christians reckon'd it one of the Articles of the Glory of their Religion, that their first Persecutor came to such an End.

Not long after that Trajan was fam'd for that memorable Expression, when he deliver'd the Sword to the Governours of the Provinces, as the Emblem of their Authority, he us'd these Words, *Pro me, si merear in me*; For me, but if I deserve it, against me. That did not weaken his Authority: His good Government with that of his Successors for above 80 Years, being the greatest and happiest time the Romans, had under their Emperors. This Word was put on King James the First's Coin in Scotland: It is true, that was during his Minority; but when he afterwards changed his Motto, the Coin was not call'd in, but continu'd Current till the Union.

The Primitive Christians had no Laws in their Favour, but many against them: So their patient suffering so many Persecutions according to the Laws of the Empire, under which they liv'd, was conform to the Doctrine laid down by the Apostles. When they came afterwards to have the Protection of Laws, they claim'd the Benefit of them, not without great Violence, when they thought an Infraction was made on those Laws: Which broke out into great Tumults, in many of the chief Cities of the Empire, not excepting the Imperial City it self.

But to proceed with the History of our Church: When the Articles of Religion were settled, the Books of the *Apocrypha* were indeed declar'd not to be a part of the Canon of the Scripture, but yet to be useful for the Example of Life, and the Instruction of Manners. A great part of these are the Books of the *Maccabees*, which contain the History of the Jews shaking off the Yoke of the Kings of Syria, when they were broke in upon by a total Overthrow of their whole Law, and an unrelenting Persecution. *Mattathias* a private Priest began the Resistance, which was carried on by his Children, till they shook off the Syrian Yoke, and formed themselves into a free Government, under the Family of the *Maccabees*. It were easie to shew that the Jews had been for above 400 Years subject, first to the *Babylonian*, then to the *Persian*, and at last to the *Grecian* Empire: So that by a long Prescription they were Subjects to the Kings of Syria. It were easie also to shew that this Resistance was foretold by *Daniel*, in Terms of high Commendation, and is also mention'd in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, as the Work and Effect of their Faith. If then all Resistance to illegal and barbarous Persecution, is unlawful; these Books contain nothing but a History of a Rebellion, and all the Devotion that runs through them, is but a Cant, and instead of reading them as Examples of Life, and Instruction of Manners, we ought to tear them out of our Bibles with Detestation. I shall afterwards shew what use was made of these Books, not only by private Writers of our Church, but by what the whole Body in Convocation was about to determine.

The next Step to be made, is, to consider the Homilies: The Second Book of Homilies, which has the Homilies in it against *Wilful Rebellion*, is generally believed



believed to have been compos'd by Bishop Jewell, who was by much the best Writer in that time. It is certain, he understood the meaning of them well: Now I will read you two Passages out of his Defence of his Apology for the Church of England; from whence we may clearly gather what his Notion of Rebellion was, and that he thought a Defence against unjust and illegal Violence was not Rebellion. In one place he has these Words;

*The Nobles of Scotland neither drew the Sword, nor attempted War against the Prince: They fought only the Continuance of God's undoubted Truths, and the Defence of their own Lives against your barbarous and cruel Invasions: They remember'd, besides all other Warnings, your late Dealings at Vassy, where great Numbers of their Brethren were murder'd, being together at their Prayers in the Church, holding up their Innocent Hands to Heaven, and calling upon God. In another place he writes, Neither do any of all these (Luther Melancthon) teach the People to rebel against their Prince: But only to defend themselves by all lawful Means against Oppressions, as did David against Saul, so do the Nobles in France at this Day, they seek not to kill, but to save their own Lives.*

These Passages shew that he looked on Rebellion to be a violent Rising against a Prince executing the Laws, which was the Case of the Three Rebellions in England that they had in view: That in K. Henry the VIIIth's, in K. Edward's, and in Q. Elizabeth's Time, where the Papists took Arms against their Prince, who was executing Laws made in Matters of Religion, and that with a great Gentleness. Of the Eleven Passages quoted by the Prisoner out of the Homilies, Five plainly relate only to the Coercing the Person of the Prince, in which David is set in Opposition to those Rebels now, tho' he indeed defended himself, yet he had a just and sacred Tenderness to the Person of Saul, when he had him in his Power, which is certainly Sacred by our Constitution. Five of them relate to Wicked Princes. It was never pretended by any who pleaded for Necessary Defence, that the bad Life of a Prince can be a just Cause of Resistance: Yet that was then pretended; for K. Henry VIII. had given too much occasion to reckon him a Wicked Prince. So there is only one of all the Passages quoted from those Homilies, that relates simply to Rebellion in general: And it has appear'd what Bishop Jewell's Sense of the Matter was. There is also a Prayer at the end of every Division of the Homily against *Wilful Rebellion*, (and by the way *Wilful* was not put in the Title for nothing) for those oppress'd by Tyranny in other Parts, that they might be relieved, and that those who were in fear of their Cruelty might be comforted.

Let us next look thro' Q. Elizabeth's Long and Glorious Reign, and see what was the constant Maxim of that time.

The Year after the Queen came to the Crown, the War in Scotland broke out between the Queen Regent that Govern'd by Commission, from her Daughter then Queen of France, and the Lords in Scotland. She, to obtain the Matrimonial Crown to be sent to Frances the II<sup>d</sup>. gave Assurances for the Exercise of the Reformed Religion; but that Point being gain'd, she broke all her Promises, and resolv'd to force them to return to the Exercises of the Popish Religion: Upon which the Lords of Scotland form'd themselves into a Body, and were called the Lords of the Congregation. Forces were sent from France to assist the Queen Regent; upon that Q. Elizabeth enter'd into an Agreement with the Scottish Lords, and sent an Army to their Assistance, which continued in Scotland till all Matters were settled by the Pacification of Leith: And in a *Manifesto*, that I have in my Hands, set forth 25 Years after that, I find Her reflecting on that Interposition in the Affairs of that Nation, with great Satisfaction.

The Year after this War was ended, upon Frances the II<sup>d</sup>'s Death, Charles the IXth, who was a Child,

succeeded in France. Edicts were granted in favour of the Protestants: These were soon after broken by the Triumvirat, and upon that follow'd a Series of Wars often pacified, but always breaking out again, by reason of the Violence and Cruelty of the Government. All these Wars, till Henry the IVth was settled on the Throne, were in a Course of 28 Years, that which some would call *Rebellion*, being carried on against two succeeding Kings. Yet the Queen was in all that time still assisting them with Men and Money.

In the Year 1568. the Provinces in the Netherlands threw off the Spanish Yoke, that was become intollerably severe and cruel. The Queen for some Years assisted them more covertly, but when the Prince of Orange was kill'd, and they were in danger to be over-run, she took them more openly into her Protection; and by the *Manifesto* which I have in my Hands, She published the Grounds upon which She proceeded. She laid down this for a Foundation, That there had been an Ancient League not only between the Crown of England, and the Princes of the Netherlands, but between the Subjects of both Countries, under their Seals interchangeably, for all Friendly Offices. If this was a good Reason for the Queen's giving Aid to the Oppress'd People of the Netherlands, then if the Case had been reversed, that the People of England had been illegally and cruelly oppress'd, it furnish'd the Princes of those Provinces with as good a Reason for assisting them. In this Assistance given the States, the Queen persisted till the End of Her Reign; nor was this only done by the Court, but both Parliaments and Convocations granted Her several Aids to maintain these Wars: And in the Preambles of those Subsidy Acts, the Queen's Proceedings in those Particulars were highly approv'd and magnify'd. *Bilson* Bishop of Winchester, and several other Writers in that time, justified what she did; and not one that I ever heard of censured or condemn'd it.

Upon King James's coming to the Crown, the first great Negotiation was for a Peace between Spain and the United Provinces; which lasted several Years. The States insist'd on a Preliminary, That they should be Acknowledged Free, Sovereign, and Independent States; the Spaniards would not yield to this, nor would the States recede from it. Some here in England began to say, They were Form'd in Rebellion, and ought not to carry their Pretensions too far: Upon that, King James suffer'd a Convocation to meet; and a Book of Canons, with relation to the Supream Authority, was prepar'd; in which, tho' the Authority of the Prince, even when he becomes a Tyrant, is carried very far; yet the Case of the *Maccabees* is Stated; and, it was determin'd, That when a new Government, tho' begun in a Revolt, is come to a thorow Settlement, it may be own'd as Lawful. King James, who was jealous enough of the Regal Authority, yet did not like their carrying these Matters so far: He order'd the whole Matter to be let fall so entirely, that there is not a Word of it in the Books of Convocation: But Archbishop *Sancroft* found this Collection of Canons at Durham, under Dr. *Overall's* Hand, which he Copied out, and Licens'd the Book a few Days before he fell under his Suspension. I soon saw that it had a Relation to the Affairs in Holland: For the Dutch delighted to compare their first Beginnings to that of the Jews in *Antiochus's* time: They compar'd King Philip to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the Prince of Orange to *Judas Maccabaeus*. But I saw much clearer into the Matter by an Original Letter of King James, which a worthy Gentleman sent me. I knew his Hand well, the Letter is in Print; but I will read some particulars out of it. It is Directed to Dr. *Abbot*, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. It begun with Censuring some Positions concerning a King in Possession, the same with our Modern Term of a King *de facto*: He goes on in these Words, *My Reason of calling you together, was to give your Judgements, how far a Christian and a Protestant King, may concur to Assist his*



Neighbours to shake off their Obedience to their own Sovereign, upon the Account of Oppression, Tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late Queen's Time, this Kingdom was very free in Assisting the Hollanders both with Arms and Advice; and none of your Court ever told me, that any scrupled about it in her Reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know, it came from some of your selves to raise scruples about this Matter; yet I never took any notice of these scruples, till the Affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. I call'd my Clergy together, to satisfy not so much me, as the World about us, of the Justness of my owning the Hollanders at this time. This I needed not to have done; and you have forced me to say, I wish I had not. He reflects on those, who had a great Aversion to the Notion of God's being the Author of Sin, which plainly Points at Dr. Overall, who was the first Man of Note among us, that Opposed the Calvinists Doctrine of Predestination; yet he says, *They had gone to the Threshold of it, by saying, That even Tyranny was God's Authority, and should be Reverenced as such.* He concludes, *These were edg'd Tools, and that therefore they were to let them rest.* Here is a full Account of King James's Thoughts of this Matter, which was then the chief Subject of Discourse all Europe over. He had Twelve Years before this, shewed on an Eminent Occasion, that he owned the States, when he Invited them in the Year 1593. to Christen his Eldest Son, Prince Henry. They were sensible of the great Honour done them by it; and tho' they were then but Low, they sent an Embassy, with a noble Present of Gold Plate, to Assist on that Occasion. This Negotiation stuck for several Years, the Spaniards refusing to own them in expresse Words: The Temper found was, they were treated with (*tamquam*) as with Free States; and the Matter went no further at that time, than a Truce for some Years, which was Concluded in the Year 1609. This lets us see, That the Words in King James's Speech that Year to his Parliament, were not chance Words that fell carelessly from him, *A King leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to Govern by Law: In which case the King's Conscience may speak to him, as the poor Woman to Philip of Macedon, Either Govern by Law, or cease to be a King.*

There is another eminent Instance towards the End of that Reign, that shews what the Sense of our best Divines was in this Matter: When the Archbishop of York's Son and Mr. Wadsworth had changed their Religion in Spain, Wadsworth writ over a bold Defence of that; and among other Things, Charged the Reformation with Rebellion. This was Answer'd by one of the best Books of that Time, writ by Dr. Bedell, Dedicated to the Prince of Wales, who afterwards Promoted him to a Bishoprick. His Words on this Head are full: I will read some of them. *Do you think Subjects are bound to give their Throats to be cut by their Fellow-subjects, or to their Prince, at their mere Wills, against their own Laws and Edicts? You would know quo jure the Protestants Wars in France and Holland, are justified. First, The Law of Nature, which not only alloweth, but inclineth and inforceth every living Thing to defend it self from Violence. Secondly, That of Nations, which permitteth those who are in the Protection of others, to whom they owe no more than an honourable Acknowledgment, in case they go about to make themselves absolute Sovereigns, and to usurp their Liberty, to Resist and Stand for the same. And if a Lawful Prince, who is not yet Lord of his Subjects Lives and Goods, shall attempt to despoil them of the same, under colour of reducing them to his own Religion, after all humble Remonstrances, they may stand upon their own guard, and being assailed, resist Force with Force, as did the Maccabees under Antiochus. In which case notwithstanding, the Person of the Prince himself ought always to be Sacred and Inviolable, as was Saul to David. No Commentary is wanted here,*

My Lords, You see how this Matter stood during King James's Reign. In the first Year of King Charles's Reign, Grotius's Book *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, was Pub-

lish'd at Paris, Dedicated to the King of France, while France was under the Administration of the wisest and most jealous Minister of the last Age, Cardinal Richelieu. In that Book, in which he asserts the Rights of Princes with great Zeal, yet he enumerates many Cases, in which it is Lawful to Resist, particularly that of a total Subversion: And that Book is now all Europe over in the highest Reputation of any Book that the Modern Ages have produced. In the Beginning of King Charles's Reign, a War broke out in France, against the Protestants; upon which he sent over Ambassadors, by whose Mediation a Peace was Concluded; but that being ill kept, the War broke out again; and the King thought himself Bound by his Mediation to Protect the Protestants. So in the Second Session of the Parliament 1628. In the Demand of a Supply that the Lord Keeper Coventry made in the King's Name, these Words are to be found, *France is sway'd by the Popish Faction; and tho' by his Majesties Mediation, there were Articles of Agreement between that King and his Subjects, that Treaty hath been broke, and those of the Reformed Religion will be ruined without present Help.* Upon this the Commons petitioned the King for a Fast, and desired the Concurrence of the Lords, who join'd with them in it. The King granted it, and an Office was Compos'd suitable to the Occasion; in which among other Devotions, the Nation was directed to pray for all those, *who here or else-where were fighting God's Battels and Defending his Altars.* Thus the whole Body of the Legislature did concur for a Fast for that, which if this Doctrine is true, was no better than Rebellion; and yet the whole Nation, Clergy and Laity were requir'd to Pray for Success in it.

But to compleat this View of the Doctrine of our Church, it is to be consider'd, That when a Year before this, while the Loan or Benevolence were carried on, some officious Divines made use of those Expressions of Kings having their Power from God, as importing an Authority of a Nature Superior to the Laws of the Land. One of these, Dr. Manwaring, was Impeached, and had a severe Sentence passed on him for it. So I have now made it out, beyond I hope the possibility of Contradiction, that for 70 Years together, from 1558, to 1628, the Lawfulness of Self-defence in the Case of Illegal and Violent Cruelty, was the Publick and Constant Doctrine of this Church.

These were the best and happiest times of our Church, as is often repeated by the Earl of Clarendon: From these we ought to take the Standard of our Doctrine.

I go next to shew what was the common Doctrine for the next 60 Years, from 1628, to 1688. I must yield up the first twelve Years: For upon the unhappy Misunderstanding between the King and that Parliament, there was a long discontinuance of Parliaments, then the lately Condemned Doctrine was again in Vogue; and nothing was so much heard of, as the Law of Government that was from God, Antecedent to all human Laws: Out of this sprung illegal Imprisonments, illegal Monopolies, severe Proceedings in the Star-Chamber, but above all, the Ship-Money. These things put the Nation in an Universal dis-jointing and feebleness. And when an unavoidable necessity forced that King to call a Parliament, the fatal Effects of those Councils broke out terribly. I know many fancy, that the War is to be charged on the Principles of Self-defence: They are much mistaken. I had occasion to see a great way into the Secret of that time, when I examin'd the Papers relating to the two Dukes of Hamilton. I knew a great deal more since from two Persons of unquestionable Integrity, who knew the Secrets of that time, the Lord Hollis, and Sir Harbottle Grimstone; but all receiv'd a full Confirmation, when I found it agreed perfectly with the noble Account given by the Earl of Clarendon.

No Body dreamt of a War, nor had they any Principles leading to it. But there was an unhappy Train of Accidents that hindred Matters from being brought to a Settlement, even while the King was granting all they could desire. Stories were carried by Persons about both



both the King and Queen, of words let fall, that made them conclude, there were still ill Designs on foot, against the Laws that were then passed. But that which brought all to a Crisis, was the Discovery of a Negotiation, to engage the Army to Declare against the Parliament. Whosoever compares the Depositions in *Rusworth*, with the Account given of that Matter by the Earl of *Clarendon*, will see there is a great deal more in the one, than the other is willing to believe; tho' he acknowledges they had both *Goring's* Evidence, and *Piercy's* Letter with them. I will not take it upon me to determine, whether they believ'd too much, or the Earl of *Clarendon* too little. It is certain, they believed all that was in the Depositions, and a great deal more: For *Goring* being continued in the Government of *Portsmouth*, and his Father being advanced from being a Baron to be an Earl, and *Piercy's* being made a Lord, and Master of the Horse to the P. of *Wales*, made them conclude they had suppressed a great deal, instead of saying more than was true. This stuck deep in their Hearts, and at last fatally broke out in the Demand of the Militia, that brought on the War, which I do own was plainly a *Rebellion*, because a Force was offer'd to the King, not to defend themselves from an unjust Invasion, or illegal Grievances, but to extort a new Law from him.

Thus the true Occasion of the War, was a Jealousie, that a Conduct of 15 Years had given too much ground for; and that was still unhappily kept up, by a fatal Train of Errors in every step that was made. The great Concussion that the War gave the Nation, and the barbarous Effusion of so much Blood, especially of the Royal Blood of that Blessed KING, had at last a happy, tho' a late Conclusion in the *Restoration*: And it's no wonder, if such a Series of Tragical Events, begot a general Horror at the Occasion of them. But then it was, that had it not been for the Firmness of the Earl of *Clarendon* to his *English* Principles, the Liberties of the Nation had been deliver'd up.

It is to his Memory, that we owe our being a free People; for he with his two great Friends, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, check'd the forwardness of some who were desirous to load the Crown with Prerogative and Revenue. He stop't all this, which being afterwards odiously represented, brought on him that great and lasting, but honourable Disgrace. The Earl of *Southampton*, whose Death went a little before his Fall, and perhaps hastned it the sooner, said to many about him, that he was a true Protestant, and an honest *English-man*; and that the Nation would feel the Effects of his being removed, whensoever it might happen.

That Lord, in the great Settlement after the *Restoration*, would carry things no farther, than to repeal what had been extorted by the Tumults; and in the matter of the Militia-Act, and the Oaths relating to it, all was more cautiously worded, than is commonly understood. To the Word *Commission'd by the King*, some indeed moved, that the word *Lawfully* might be added, to make all plain. This was press'd in the House of Commons by *Vaughan*, afterward Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas. The Attorney General, afterwards Lord Chancellor *Nottingham*, answer'd, That was not necessary; for the word *Commission*, import'd it; since, if it was not Lawfully issued out, to Lawful Persons, and for a Lawful Reason, it was no *Commission*; and the whole House assented to this; yet in the House of Lords, the same word *Lawfully* was press'd to be added by the Earl of *Southampton*, who was answer'd by the Earl of *Anglesey* to the same purpose, with what had been said in the House of Commons. He indeed insisted to have the word added, because it would clear all Difficulties with many, who not having heard of the Sense given in both Houses, might fancy, that any sort of *Commission* being granted, it would not be Lawful to resist it. He did not prevail; for it was said, That this Explanation being the Sense of both Houses, it would

be soon spread and known over the Nation. In this Sense, it is certain, that it is not Lawful to take Arms against any so Commission'd by the King; for that were to take Arms against the King's Commission in the Execution of the Law, which is certainly a resisting the Ordinance of God, which whosoever do, they shall receive to themselves damnation.

It was no wonder, if after such a War, the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* was preach'd and press'd with more than ordinary Warmth, and without any Exceptions; yet some still kept these in view; so did both Dr. *Falkner* and my self; and I know many others had them always in their Thoughts, tho' they did not think it necessary to mention them.

I found the ill effects, that the carrying this Matter so far, had on the Mind of that Unfortunate Prince, King *James*; for in the Year 1673, when he was pleas'd to admit me to much free Conversation with him, among many other things, I told him, it was impossible for him to Reign in quiet in this Nation, being of that Religion; he answer'd me quick, Does not the Church of *England* maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* and *Passive Obedience*? I begg'd of him not to depend on that; for there was a distinction in that matter, that would be found out when Men thought they needed it. I now come to tell your Lordships, how right I judged. —

It is true, they pass'd a very pompous Decree at *Oxford* 1683. but you shall hear how long they stood to it. In Summer, 1686, the Prince of *Orange* was pleas'd to receive me into his Service with a particular Confidence. Soon after the Ecclesiastical Commission was set up, and upon some Proceedings before that Board, he was desir'd from *England* to break with King *James* upon that Head. I oppos'd this, and said, I was convinced, that Commission was against Law, and would have ill effects, but it did not strike at the whole. This was more warmly press'd upon the Proceedings against *Magdalene College*. I still stood to my ground; and told both Prince and Princess, That if a Breach should follow on these Matters, I could not serve. When indeed the Declaration was publish'd a second time, with a Resolution to have it carried through; and that many Laws were dispensed with at pleasure; and Persons who were under legal Disabilities, were made Judges, Sheriffs and Magistrates; all whose Actings were so many Nullities: Then I thought here was a total Subversion of our Constitution; which from being a Legal one, was made precarious, subject to mere Will and Pleasure. So I was ready to serve in the Revolution.

Some Days after we came to *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Seymour* came thither, and he presently sent for me: When I came to him, he asked me, Why were we a Rope of Sand, and had not an Association? I said, Because we had not yet a Man of his Weight to begin the Motion: He said, If we had not one by to Morrow, he would leave us before Night. I presently saw a Noble Duke now in my Eye, and acquainted him with this; He went to the Prince, who approving of it, an Association was prepar'd, and laid on the Table next Morning; and was after that Signed by all who came to wait on the Prince. Three days after we left *Exeter*, a Head of a College came to the Prince, to invite him to come to *Oxford*, assuring him, that the University would declare for him. He went as near it as *Abingdon*, but then the sudden Turn of Affairs at *London* obliging him to hast up, the Association was sent thither, and was Signed by the Heads of the Colleges, and many others there; some doing it in a particular Warmth of Expression, and saying, That their Hearts, as well as their Hands went with it. Upon what Disappointments or other Views, I cannot tell, this Contradiction to their famed Decree, five Year after it was made, seem'd to take another Turn back to it again; and the Notion of a King *de facto*, which is but a softer Word for an U-surper, came in Vogue.



The Parliament, to prevent the ill Effects of that, studied to secure the Government, *First*, by an Association, and then by an Abjuration. I, who was always against every thing that might break in upon Conscience, was for making these only voluntary; but they were Enacted, and they were generally taken. A Noble Lord on the Earls Bench, procur'd me the Sight of a Letter, that went about to persuade the taking the Abjuration, that he had from a place where he believed it had its Effect; where I found this Distinction, That the Abjuring any Right whatsoever that the Pretender might claim, was only meant of a Legal Right, and that it had no Relation to *Birth-Right*, or to *Divine Right*. This agreed, with a Report that went then current, That a Person, in a great Post, sent a Message to an Honourable Gentleman, who would not take the Abjuration, that if he had an half Hours Discourse with him, he doubted not to be able to convince him, that he might take the Abjuration, without departing from any of his Principles. Towards the End of the last Reign, a bold Attempt was made on the King's Supremacy, by an incendiary, who is supposed to have no small Share in this Matter now before your Lordships: But the Attack on the Supremacy being liable to a *Premunire*, it was turn'd with much Malice, and manag'd with great Prevarication against the Bishops, who adhered firmly to their Duty to the King. How great a Disjoining that has brought on this Church, is too visible all the Nation over, and it tends to carry on the wicked Design of distracting the Church, and undermining the Government.

By the time the Queen was on the Throne, or soon after, the *Rehearsal* began to be spread over the Nation, two of them a Week, which continu'd for severall Years together, to be Publish'd without Check or Controul; It was all thro' one Argument against the Queen's Right to the Crown; that, tho' it was diversified with Incidents and Digressions, was kept always in View. The Clergy were in many Places drawn into Subscriptions for this Paper. This look'd like a Design long conniv'd at, to have the Queen's Title undermin'd: Besides this, we had a Swarm of Pamphlets every Year to the same Purpose, and, as was believed, writ by the same Hand. One sold at the Door of the House, with the Title of *King William's Exorbitant Grants*, did plainly call him an Usurper; and starting an Objection against the Queen's possessing the Throne, gave it this Answer, That she did well to keep it till she could deliver it up to the Righteous Heir. At that time there was quick Prosecution of a Paper publish'd, with the Title of *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*; and upon that, I brought that Pamphlet to a great Minister, and offer'd to shew him this Passage in it, to see if there should be a Prosecution of this Order'd. He turned from me; so whether he heard me or not, I cannot tell: I am sure, if he says he did not, I will believe him. No Prosecution follow'd, and the *Rehearsal* went on. The Clergy in many Places, met at a Coffee-House on *Saturdays*, to Read the *Rehearsals* of the Week, which had very ill Effects in most Places. I know it may be said, That the Queen's Learned Council ought to have look'd after these things: But we all know, that they stay till they receive Orders from the Ministry. The Course of that Treasonable Paper has been now for some time stop'd, so we see there is some Change in the Ministry.

But to compleat the Insolence of the Enemies of the Queen and of the Protestant Succession; they had the Impudence to give it out, That the Queen secretly favour'd them: And as this, we all know, has been long whisper'd about among us, so it was more boldly given out in *Scotland*, which oblig'd one of the Queen's Ministers in that Parliament, in a Speech that was Printed, to contradict this treasonable and dishonourable Suggestion, that as some Divines would have it, that there was in God a Secret, as well as a Reveal'd Will, and that these might be contrary to one another; so they

would fasten an Imputation on the Queen, that while she reveal'd her Will one way, she had a secret Will another way; which he solemnly affirmed to be false, and highly Injurious to the Queen.

While the Pamphlets and these Reports were thus set about, Mr. *Headly* thought that it became him to assert the Queen's Title, by justifying the Revolution, out of which it rises. But what an Outcry was rais'd on this, that one durst disturb the Progress of a wicked Opinion, that was visibly design'd to overturn the Government: And yet he asserted nothing, but what the Council for the Prisoner did all fully and plainly own, That in the Cases of extream Necessity, an Exception to the Doctrine was to be admitted, and that that was the Case at the Revolution.

But as these Notions have been long let run among us; so they have appeared in a most violent and unguarded Manner, ever since the Attempt of the Pretender, and more of late, since the Preliminaries upon the Overtures for a Peace, seem to extinguish their Hopes. What Sermons on this Head are preach'd in this City, at Assizes, at *Bath*, and at many Cathedrals? Furious Men fit themselves with some hot Sermons, which they carry about from place to place, to poison the Nation. This has not only the visible Effect designed by it, of shaking many in their Allegiance to the Queen, and in their adhering to the Protestant Succession; but it has a cursed Effect on many others, on whom this their Design does not succeed.

I am very sensible there is a great deal of Impiety and Infidelity now spread thro' the Nation: This gives every good Mind all possible Horror; but I must tell your Lordships, on what a great Part of it is founded; for since my Conversation with *Wilnot*, Earl of *Rocheester*, I have had many Occasions to discourse with Persons tainted with those wicked Principles, and I do affirm it, that the greatest Prejudice these Persons have at Religion, at the Clergy, and at the Publick Worship of God, is this, that they say, They see Clergy-men take Oaths, and use all Prayers, both Ordinary and Extraordinary for the Government, and yet in their Actings and Discourses, and of late in their Sermons, they shew visibly that they look another way; from whence they conclude, They are a Mercenary Sort of People without Conscience.

I hope there are not many that are so corrupted and so scandalous: I am sure I know a great many that are far otherwise, who Preach, Speak and Act as they Swear and Pray; but those who act in another way, are Noisie and Impudent, and so bring an Imputation on the whole Body; and unless an effectual Stop is put to this Distemper, it is not possible to foresee all the ill Consequences that may follow upon it.

I have, I am afraid, wearied your Lordships; but I thought it was necessary, once for all, to enlarge copiously on this Argument: And now to come close to the Article, and the Sermon, for I meddle not at all with the Person of the Man; Whatever general Expressions might very well have been used, in setting forth *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* before the Revolution, because odious Cases ought not to be supposed, and therefore are not to be named; yet since *Resistance* was used in the Revolution, and that the late King invited all the Subjects to join with him, which was in them certainly Resistance; and since the Lawfulness of the Revolution is so much controverted, the condemning all Resistance in such crude and general Terms, is certainly a Condemning the Revolution: And this is further aggravated from those Limitations on our Obedience, in an Act pass'd soon after the Revolution, by which, in Case our Princes turn *Papists*, or marry *Papists*, the Subjects are in express Words, discharg'd from their Allegiance to them. Certainly this puts an End to the Notion of *Non-Resistance* in any Case, or on any Pretence whatsoever: For these Reasons, I think the first Article of this Impeachment, is both well grounded, and fully made out.



T H E  
 Bishop of OXFORD's  
 S P E E C H  
 I N T H E  
 HOUSE of LORDS,

On the First Article of the Impeachment of  
 Dr. HENRY SACHEVERELL.

*My Lords,*

SOME of this Bench are necessarily call'd up, by Words which fell from the Noble Lord who spake third in this Debate, who was pleas'd to mention among other strange Things, *Bishops voting contrary to their Doctrines*. The Opinions of several of the Reverend Prelates have been read before your Lordships in *Westminster-Hall*: They were first quoted by the Counsel for the Defendant, and by their Order read in such a partial and unfair manner, that if I may be allow'd to use any other Author after the same way, to take a naked Proposition out of his Book, and not consider the Coherence or Dependence of the Words how it may be explain'd or limited in other Places, to read just so far as may serve my Purpose, and stop when any thing follows that may set the Matter in a just Light, I dare undertake to make any Author speak on which-ever side of the Question I please.

But the *Managers* for the Honourable House of Commons did Justice to those Reverend Prelates by obliging the *Clerk* to read other Passages in their Books, which clearly explain'd their Opinions; and so the only Purpose that was eventually serv'd by producing those Quotations, was that which I fear was not intended, the vindicating those Reverend Prelates from the uncharitable Imputation of having asserted a *Doctrine* in their *Writings* which they had contradicted by their Practices, in relation to the Revolution and the Government founded upon it.

I hope to be able to reconcile the Vote which I shall give, with the Opinion which I have always been of, and which having not been produced below, I stand up to give it your Lordships here, being far from censuring, far from entertaining the least disrespectful Thought of any that shall differ in Opinion from me.

I own the Subject now in debate, is a matter of great Consequence, and of great Nicety and Tendernefs; and that he, who should presume to entertain your Lordships upon it, ought to be better qualified, and better prepar'd than I am in other Respects, but I will give place to none in those that follow, *viz.* in delivering my self with that Respect and Deference which is due to this House, that humble Diffidence which becomes a just Consciousness of my own Weakness, and that Plainness and Sincerity which becomes that Character, which however unworthy of it, I have the Honour to bear; and then I am sure I may depend upon your Lordships known Candor, Honour and Justice, that if any thing should fall from me less correct, or less guarded than it ought to be, it shall receive the most favourable Construction that it is capable of.

Before I deliver my Opinion, I beg leave briefly to state the Question, and in order to that to lay down Two Premises.

1. That Government in general, was in its original Institution, design'd for the good of the whole Body; Men were not form'd into Societies, only to be the Subjects of the arbitrary Wills, the slavish Instruments in the gratifying the Ambitious or other corrupt Designs, of any one or more Men; but for the Safety and Prosperity of the whole Community.

2. That in the Holy Scriptures (as far as I can find) there is no Specification of any one particular Form of Government to which all Nations and Bodies of Men, in



all Times and Places ought to be subject; nor are there such exact Accounts of the extent of the Power of the Governour or Obedience and Submission of the Governed, as can reach to all Cases that may possibly happen.

There are many general Precepts requiring the Obedience and Submission of Subjects to their Governors: *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers; You must needs be subject not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience-sake; He that resists, resists the Ordinance of God; And submit your selves to every human Constitution for the Lord's sake, &c.*

But yet these Scriptures do not tell us how far we must obey and be Subject, nor do they necessarily imply that there can never be any Cases wherein we may not obey and not be subject, but resist; because there are other Places in Scripture, where other Duties are required in Terms as large and general as these, nay in universal Terms, which yet must admit of Exceptions.

Some of the most zealous Contenders for the absolute Power of the Prince, and unconditional Submission of the Subject, found themselves very much upon the Fifth Commandment, *Honour Thy Father and Mother*, which they expound as comprehending Political as well as natural Parents, and I do not gain-say it: But then pray, my Lords, let us see in what Terms the Duty of Children to their natural Parents is required in Scripture: *Children*, says the Apostle, *obey your Parents in all Things*; This Expression is surely universal enough; and from hence according to some Mens Reasoning, it must follow, if Children must obey their Parents in all Things, then they may resist in none.

But will any Body say, that notwithstanding the Universality of this Precept, there may not be some Exceptions and Limitations understood, both as to the *active* and *passive* Part of the *Child's Obedience*? As to the *Active*, no one will deny, but the Command must be restrain'd to *Licita & Honest*; they are not to obey in all Things absolutely, but in all Things that are Lawful and Honest.

And as to the *Passive* Part of the *Child's Obedience*, the Submission or Non-resistance requir'd, permit me to put a Case. Suppose a Parent in a *Phrenzy*, in a fit of *Drunkenness* or *Passion*, draws his Sword and attempts to kill his innocent Son, and the Son has no way to escape from him; is he oblig'd by this Duty of *not Resisting*, to stand still and let his Father sheath his Sword in his *Bowels*? May he not, tho' he must still have a care of his Father's Life, defend his own? May he not put by the Pass, grapple with his Father, and disarm him if he can? My Lords, surely he may; That prime Law of Nature, of *Self-Preservation*, will justify him in it: And then why may not the same Law of *Self-Preservation* justify the Political Child, the Body of the People, in defending their political Life, i. e. their *Constitution*, against plain and avow'd Attempts of the political Parent utterly to destroy it? And it is upon this Point only that I shall state the Question.

I do allow, that in all *Governments* whatsoever there is an absolute Power lodg'd somewhere. With us, as I humbly conceive, that Power is lodg'd in the Legislature; for which I have the Authority of a great Politician and Statesman, Sir Thomas Smith, who was *Secretary of State* to two Princes, K. *Edw. 6.* and Q. *Eliz.* who in his Book, *De Republica Angl.* a Book seen and allow'd as is said in the Title Page, in that Chapter where he treats of our Parliaments and the Authority thereof, lays down this Assertion, "The most high and absolute Power of the Realm of England consisteth in the Parliament; and giving particular Instances of that Power, among others mentions this, "That the Parliament gives Forms of Succession to the Crown."

The Executive Power with us is lodg'd with the Prince; and I do readily allow that the Prince so vested with the Executive Power, and all others lawfully commission'd by him, acting according to their Commission, and within those Laws, with the Execution whereof he and they are respectively trusted, are irresistible: The Person of the Prince is always inviolable: No personal Faults in him; no Injuries to particular Persons, where they can have no Redress by Law, as in several Cases they may have; no general *Maladministration*, whereby the Publick may be greatly hurt, can justify any forcible Resistance of his Subjects; nor any thing less than a total Subversion of the Constitution.

But if in a legal Monarchy, where such Laws have been enacted by common consent of Prince and People, as are to be the Measures of his *Government* as well as of their Obedience, that limit his Power as well as secure their Rights and Properties, the Prince shall change this Form of *Government* into an absolute *Tyranny*, set aside those Laws, and set up an *Arbitrary Will* in the room of them; When the Case is plain, and when all *Applications* and *Attempts* of other Kinds prove unsuccessful; If then the *Nobles* and *Commons* join together in Defence of their *Ancient Constitution, Government and Laws*, I cannot call them Rebels. Allow me, my Lords, to lay before you a few Things in maintainance of what I have advanced. And,

1. I would humbly offer some Facts, which I allow do not directly prove what I have said to be true, but they do prove it to have been the Opinion of our Princes, Parliaments, Clergy and People in the Reigns of those three great Princes, Q. *Elizabeth*, K. *James* and K. *Charles I.* I mean the *Assistances* which those Princes gave to the Subjects of other Coun-



Countries that were resisting their respective Princes; and to enable them to do so, they had *Subsidies* given them in *Parliament* and *Convocation* —, and there were Prayers compos'd and used for the Success of their Arms.

Surely, my Lords, if those *Princes*, *Parliaments*, *Clergy* and *People* had been of Opinion, that the *Resistance* of Subjects against their Princes, was in no Case lawful, but always damnable *Rebellion*; they would never by aiding and assisting such *Rebels* have involved themselves in the Guilt, and expos'd themselves to the dangerous Consequences of such a Sin. I mention not the particular Stories, because they are better known to your Lordships than to me, and because I doubt not but in the Course of this Debate, some Lord or other will give a larger *Account* of them; but I cannot forbear observing one thing relating to that Assistance, which that pious Prince, and now glorious Saint in Heaven, K. Charles I. gave to the *Rockellers*, who were surely the Subjects of the King of France; he order'd a *Fast* by *Proclamation*, and appointed a *Form of Prayer* to be drawn up for the imploring of God's Blessing. It is highly probable that Bishop *Laud* had the great Hand in composing those Prayers, he being then Bp. of London, and in great Favour, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Abbot*, at that time in Disgrace. But whoever compos'd them, I beg leave to read part of one of the *Collects* in that Office. "O Lord God of Hosts, that givest Victory in the Day of Battle, and Deliverance in the time of Trouble, We beseech thee to strengthen the Hands, and encourage the Hearts of thy Servants in fighting thy Battles and defending thy Altars that are among us, and in all the reformed Churches. It seems the reformed Churches were thought to have God's Altars among them then, however they have been vilify'd since. But that which I would observe from this Passage is this, That neither that excellent King who commanded those Prayers to be composed, nor the Bishops who compos'd them, nor the Clergy and People who us'd and join'd in them, could in so solemn a manner have recommended those Forces to the Divine Protection and Favour, and as such as were fighting God's Battles, if they had thought they were fighting against God in his Vice-gerent, and as defending his Altars if they believed they were resisting his Ordinance.

2. I could produce several Authorities in support of what I have laid down, but I shall mention but one; It is in a book written professedly on this Subject, and the Passage I shall quote comes home in Point to the Matter in Hand; the Book was written in Q. Elizabeth's Time; every one that is acquainted with the History of Her Reign knows what Attempts were made by the Pope and his Party against her Government and Life, by Excommunicating, deposing her, absolving her Subjects from their Allegiance, by raising Tumults and Insurrections, by Dagger, Poyson and what not: And 'tis certain, that they were these wicked Practices of the Pope and his Followers, and the Doctrines by which they justify'd them, that the Compilers of the *Homilies* which were then made, and other Authors who then wrote about the Power of the Prince and the Duty of the Subject, had principally in their View: The Book I mean, is intituled, *The true Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*. It is written by way of Dialogue between a Christian, whom the Author calls *Theophilus*, and a Jesuit whom he calls *Philander*. I beg leave to read a Quotation out of it. *Theophilus* the Christian says, *I busie not my self in other Mens Commonwealths as you (the Jesuits) do, neither will I rashly pronounce all that resist, to be Rebels: Cases may fall out even in Christian Kingdoms, where the People may plead their Right against their Prince, and not be charged with Rebellion.* *Philander* the Jesuit asks, *as when for Example?* *Theophilus* the Christian replies thus. *If a Prince should go about to subject his Kingdom to a foreign Realm, or change the Form of the Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny, or neglect the Laws establish'd by common consent of Prince and People, to execute his own Pleasure; in these and other Cases, which might be named, if the Nobles and Commons join together to defend their ancient and accusom'd Liberty, Regiment and Laws, they may not well be accounted Rebels.* This Book is said, in the Title Page, to have been perused and allowed by publick Authority; was written by a great Man, Dr. *Bilson* then Warden of *Winchester* College; printed at *Oxford* by the University Printer and dedicated to Q. Elizabeth, and the Author was afterwards made Bp. of *Winchester*. I could offer many other Authorities not from false Sons or perfidious Prelates of the Church, not from Men of *Faction* and *Antimonarchical* Principles in relation to the State, but venerable Names, *Ornaments* to the Ages they liv'd in, and such as will be remembered with Honour in succeeding ones: But I am superseded in producing, and your Lordships trouble saved in hearing more particular Quotations to this Purpose, by what is yielded by a Reverend Divine of great Parts and Learning, far enough from the Suspicion of being prejudic'd against the Rights of Princes, or partial to those of the People, I mean the Reverend Dean of *Carlisle*, who in a Latin Discourse preach'd and printed in this Town upon the *Duty of Submission*, stating some Cases of extreme Necessity, and putting the Question, *Whether it may not be lawful for the People in such Cases to resist?* answers, *Viri boni & graves, &c.* "That good and judicious Men, Men that have taken great and useful Pains in defending the Rights of Princes, and repressing popular  
" License,



"License, have contended that it is Lawful: He adds indeed, "whether they have done Right or Wrong, let others judge, and does not give his own Opinion. But since he has granted, that such Men as he has described, Men of Probity and Judgment, zealous Assertors of the Rights of Princes, and Repressors of popular License, have contended that in Cases of extreme Necessity it is lawful for the People to defend themselves; I may comfort my self, if I err in my Opinion, that I err in good Company. But I humbly conceive I do not err, and that,

3. For this plain Reason, That if it be utterly unlawful to Resist in any Case whatsoever, even that of a total Subversion of the Constitution and Laws; then there is no distinction of Governments, of Absolute, I mean, and Limited; or if there be a distinction, it is a nominal one without any real difference; for what difference is there between a Prince's governing Arbitrarily without Law, and governing Arbitrarily against Law? Betwixt having no Laws at all, and having precarious Laws that depend intirely on the Will of the Prince, whether he will observe one of them or subvert them all, and if he does, the People cannot help themselves?

But, my Lords, I hope and believe that there is a real distinction of Governments, and that the Subjects of all Governments are not in the same wretched Condition that those of *France* and *Turkey* are in. I hope we have not boasted falsely or vainly of our own Form of Government, that we are bless'd with a Constitution more happy than any other Nation in the World enjoys, that allows and secures as great, and (I had almost said) God-like Powers and Prerogatives to the Crown as any wise and good Prince can desire, a Power of doing every thing that is Good and nothing that is Ill, and at the same time secures most valuable Rights and Privileges to the People.

What wise or good Prince would not rather chuse to reign over free Subjects, than tyrannize over Slaves? To receive a willing cheerful Obedience proceeding from the Principles of Gratitude, Love, and Interest as well as of Duty, rather than a forced one, owing meerly to a Principle of Fear, the Principle from whence the *Indians* worship the Evil Spirits?

My Lords, such a Frame of Government your Lordships have receiv'd from your Ancestors; and I hope and trust, that in grateful Respect to their Memory, and in tender Regard to your Posterity, [I say nothing of *our selves*, my Lords; for as for us who have the Happiness to live under the Government of the best of Princes that ever Heaven bless'd a Nation with; for us, I say, were our Government as Arbitrary as any in the *East*, yet I should think our Rights, Liberties, and Properties, and whatever is most dear and valuable to us, as safe as if they depended intirely upon Her Majesty's gracious Will, as they are now they are secured to us by our Laws, or stronger Fences, if they could be made] but I speak in regard to those that are to come after us; and I do hope and trust, that as your Lordships have receiv'd such an inestimable Treasure from your Predecessors, you will transmit inviolable to your Posterity.

My Lords, I fear I tire you, but I must beg your Patience a little longer, while I express my Surprise and Wonder that the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, in the unlimited Extent in which some explain it, is so diligently inculcated, and so zealously press'd at this time.

*Passive Obedience*, I own, when truly stated, is a truly Christian Duty, a perpetual Duty as to the Obligation, but occasional as to the Practice of it. Now Preachers do not usually, neglecting the pressing of other Duties of more constant Practice, lay out their Time and Labour in filling both Pages of their Discourses with earnest Assertions and violent Exhortations to the Practice of an occasional Duty, unless they have some near Prospect of an occasion for the Exercise of it. And yet, my Lords, has this one Duty been, of late, more frequently and earnestly asserted and urged both from Pulpit and Press, than all the other Duties of Christianity: And what occasion for this does any one pretend to have in view?

Can there be a Wretch so abandon'd, so lost to all Sense of Gratitude and every thing that is good, as to be capable of admitting a Thought, that our gracious Queen has done, is doing, or intending to do any thing, that may give her Subjects occasion for the Practice of this Duty? Has she not ever since her happy Accession to the Throne, postponed, sacrificed her own Repose and Ease to the Quiet and Happiness of her Subjects? Has she not clearly shown that She has nothing so much at Heart, as the Good and Prosperity of her People, the true Interest and Honour of her Kingdom which she has carried higher than any of her Royal Predecessors ever did before her? Has she not approv'd Her self a true Parent of her political Children, by exercising as prudent a Care of, and expressing on all Occasions as tender an Indulgence to them, as any natural Parents ever did towards theirs?

If then there be no Occasion from the Conduct of our Prince, is there any Reason from the Behaviour of Her People that may justify this extraordinary and otherwise unseasonable Zeal for this Doctrine? Do they (excepting such as the Zealots for this Doctrine



Doctrine have excited to disturb her peaceful Reign at home, by rebellious and dangerous Tumults and Insurrections,) shew any Uneasiness under Her Majesty's Government, or Inclinations to throw it off? Do they not bless their glorious Queen and God for her? Do they not on all Occasions express their grateful Sense of the many inestimable Blessings they enjoy through her Administration? Do not they constantly offer up their devout Prayers to God for her long Life and happy Reign? Do they not willingly pay their Taxes for the Support of her Government, cheerfully expend their Treasure and Blood too in Defence of it?

What then can be said for such a Conduct which can have no other natural Tendency than to create unreasonable Jealousies of her People in the Head of our Queen, and groundless Fears of their Queen in the Hearts of her People. Jealousies in the Queen, that her Subjects are inclinable to rebel against her, when the Clergy think it necessary thus to press these Restraints upon them; and Fears in the People, when their Pastors are so industriously preparing them for Sufferings?

My Lords, I would not be thought to charge upon all that hold and assert this Doctrine, the Consequences which I may with too much Reason charge upon some of them; I mean such as do not allow Her Majesty's Title to the Crown, but refuse to take the Oaths to Her, or join in Prayer for Her, and have upon that account form'd one of the most unaccountable Schisms that ever was made in the Church: Some of these have engaged zealously in asserting this Doctrine; and one of them in a Paper written in Vindication of it, has not been afraid to insinuate a Parallel between the Case of *Her Majesty* and *the Pretender*, and that of *Athaliah* and *Joash*.

Horrid Suggestion that would make one tremble! What do these Men mean? Any Service to Her Majesty? No: The Consequences as to them are plain. If to Resist upon any Occasion whatever, be unlawful, be Rebellion, damnable Rebellion; then the Revolution was Rebellion, and all that were concern'd in it are involv'd in that Guilt; then we have continued in a Rebellion ever since; then if we wou'd avoid Damnation, we must repent of that Sin; but there is no true Repentance without Restitution, and if there must be Restitution, they will tell you what that is.

I would charitably hope, that the unfortunate Person now in Judgment before your Lordships, did not intend to carry Matters so far: But I must say, his Doctrine as he has stated and managed it, under his Head of *False Brotherhood*, with relation to the State, does give too great a Handle for those that have such Views, to improve what he has said to their Purposes.

The Council for him, have labour'd to defend him against the Charge in this Article, by producing a great many Quotations out of the *Homilies*, *Statutes*, and *Writings* of Divines dead and living, wherein this Doctrine has been laid down generally. They all allow'd that Cases of extream Necessity were always excepted out of this general Doctrine; and that tho' the Exception was not express'd, yet it was always imply'd; and they allow'd farther, that the Case of the Revolution was a Case of such Necessity: But how did they apply this to the Case of their Client? Thus: They said, that those Divines whom they had quoted, were never found fault with for asserting the Doctrine in general Terms, not expressing but tacitly implying the Exception; Then they ask'd why should the Doctor be charged for asserting the Doctrine in general Terms as others had done, not expressing the Exception which they had not express'd? Why should not he be intitled to the favourable Construction of tacitly implying the Exception of Cases of Necessity, such a Necessity as they allow'd justify'd the Revolution?

Indeed I should readily have admitted the Plea, if the Doctor had done no more than barely assert the Doctrine in general Terms, and his only Fault had been that he had not express'd the Exception which he tacitly imply'd: But has he done no more than this? Has he not mention'd the Case of the Revolution, with no other View, as I can see, than to expose it, not as an Exception out of his general Position, but an Objection against it? Our Adversaries, says he, that is, those that oppose his general Doctrine, think they have us sure, *i. e.* effectually confute that Doctrine, by objecting the Revolution. This Objection must suppose that there was Resistance at the Revolution; for to say that the general Doctrine, that it is not lawful in any Case to resist, is not true, because the Revolution was lawful, in which there was no Resistance, would be a wonderful Objection indeed: I say, Resistance must be suppos'd in the Objection, to make Sense of it. How then does he solve this Objection? Does he say the general Doctrine always implies an Exception of Cases of Necessity? That the Revolution was a Case of such Necessity, and therefore that Necessity justify'd the Resistance at the Revolution? No, but by advancing a strange Position (which he proves by as strange a Medium) *viz.* That there was no Resistance at the Revolution: plainly implying, that if there was Resistance at the Revolution, which every Body knows there



was, the Revolution stands condemn'd by his general Doctrine. So that I cannot see that his learned Council, who wanted neither Abilities nor Inclinations to serve him, have at all defended him against the Charge in this Article. But this they have effectually done, they have given up his general Doctrine, if it admits of no Exceptions; and thereby clear'd the Revolution and the necessary means whereby it was brought about, from those black and odious Colours which he endeavour'd to cast upon them.

After all, I can truly appeal to my own Heart, and a greater than it, the Searcher of it, that I am not any ways prejudiced against the Person of the unhappy Prisoner, but rather in favour of him, as I am of all Men in his suffering Circumstances, by a natural Tenderness (it may be a Weakness, but such a one as I cannot help) which never suffers me, however oblig'd in Justice to it, to do a hard thing to any one however deserving it, without doing at the same time a hard thing to my self: And if your Lordships should be of Opinion in the Conclusion of this Trial, That the Commons have made good their Charge against him, I am sure I could come into as easy a Sentence upon him as may be consistent with the Honour and Justice of your Proceedings, and with that which I take to be the chief End in all Punishments, not so much the hurting the Offender, as the preventing the like Offences, and hindring others from committing them for the future.

But still, my Lords, there is surely a Tenderness and Compassion due to our Queen, our Country, and our Posterity, all which I humbly apprehend are highly concern'd in the Issue of this Affair.

If Clergy-men may with Impunity publicly in their Sermons arraign and condemn the Revolution: besides the Reflections they cast upon all the worthy Patriots that were concern'd in that great Work, the Commonalty, Gentry, and Nobility, Lords upon every Bench in this House; besides this, it must shake, it must sap the very Foundation of our present Establishment as it stands upon the Foot of the Revolution, and utterly destroy our future hopes in the Protestant Succession which is founded upon that bottom only.

My Lords, I must humbly ask Pardon for having trespass'd so long upon your Patience, and will conclude with this one Word, That in my Opinion, *these Practisings of Clergy-men* (to use the Expression of a great and eminent Prelate) *in State Matters, are of that dangerous Tendency and Consequence, that if there be not some effectual Stop put to these Practisings, these Practisings will, in time, put an effectual End to our Constitution.*

The Commons had therefore Reason to bring this Matter in Judgment before your Lordships, and I think they have fully made good their Charge in the first Article of their Impeachment against Dr. Sacheverell.

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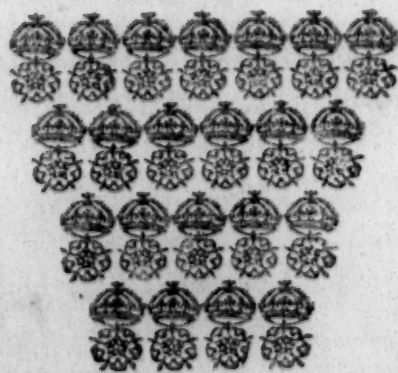
FINIS.



THE  
Bishop of Lincoln's  
AND  
Bishop of Norwich's  
SPEECHES

IN THE  
HOUSE of LORDS,  
*March the 17<sup>th</sup>.*

AT THE  
Opening of the *Second Article* of the Impeach-  
ment against Dr. *Sacheverell*.



L O N D O N:  
Printed for John Morphew near Stationers Hall, 1710.



THE

Bishop of Lincoln's

AND

Bishop of Norwich's

SPEECHES

IN THE

HOUSE OF LORDS

ON THE 17<sup>TH</sup>

AT THE

Opening of the Great Hall of the University  
ment against Dr. Richard



LONDON:

Printed for John Murray and Son, in Pall Mall, 1770.



T H E  
Bishop of Lincoln's  
S P E E C H  
I N T H E  
House of LORDS, &c.

MY LORDS,

**I**T was the Misfortune of some of our Bench, that in the Prosecution of the foregoing *Article* of this *Impeachment*, a Noble Lord, who spoke very early to that *Point*, was pleased not only to Anticipate our Judgment in that Particular; but to do it with this pretty Hard Reflection, That in giving it, as He suppos'd we Would, We should *Vote contrary to our own Doctrine*. It is not improbable but that, in the Course of the present Debate, another *Arrow* may be drawn out of the same \* *Quiver* to shoot at us; and we may be told, that in defending of the † *Toleration* granted by Law to the Dissenters, we shew our selves to be *Apostates from our Own Order*. But from both these Imputations I am perswaded both our *Writings*, and our *Actions*, will secure Us in the Judgment of all indifferent Persons.

The Substance of this *Second Article* of the *Impeachment*, which your Lordships are now about to enter upon, is this: "That Dr. S. in his Sermon, doth suggest and maintain, that the Toleration, granted by Law, is Unreasonable, and the Allowance of it Unwarrantable. That He is a False-brother with Relation to God, Religion, or the Church, who defends Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience. That Q. Elizabeth was deluded by Archbishop Grindal to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline: And that it is the Duty of Superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's against Persons entitled to the Benefit of the Toleration; and insolently dares, or defies, any Power on Earth to Reverse such Sentences." This, my Lords, is the sum of this part of the *Commons Charge* against Dr. S. and I think the *Managers* have fully made it out; not by bare *Intendments*, by unnecessary *Implications*, and forced *Constructions*; not by piecing together broken Sentences, and Conjoining of distant, and independent Passages (as he has unjustly Complain'd;) but by the plain words, and necessary meaning, of a very great Part of his *Discourse*.

But before I trouble your Lordships with the Proof of this, give me leave, upon this Occasion, (tho' it be no part of the *Impeachment* laid against the Preacher) to observe to your Lordships what a strange Account he has thought fit to publish of that other popular Engine, which, he says, has been made use of \* to pull down the Church, and which he calls by the Name of *Comprehension*.

The Person who first concerted this supposed *Design* against our Church, was the late most Reverend Dr. *Sancroft*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The time, was towards the End of that unhappy *Reign*, of which so much was said upon the Occasion of the foregoing *Article*. Then, when we were in the height of our Labours, defending the Church of England against the Assaults of *Popery*, and thought of nothing else; that Wise Prelate foreseeing some such Revolution as soon after was happily brought about; began to consider how utterly unprepared they had been at the Restoration of King Charles the II<sup>d</sup> to settle many things to the Advantage of the Church; and what a happy Opportunity had been lost for want of such a previous Care, as he was therefore desirous should now be taken, for the better and more perfect Establishment of it. It was visible to all the Nation, that the more moderate Dissenters were generally so

\* See Dr. S.'s Answer to the 1st Article of Impeachment. His Speech, Fol. Pag. 23.

† Dr. S.'s Sermon at St. Paul's, Pag. 8.

\* Sermon. Pag. 16, 17.



well satisfied with that Stand which our *Divines* had made against *Popery*, and the many Unanswerable *Treatises* they had publish'd in Confutation of it, as to express an unusual Readiness to come in to us. And it was therefore thought worth the while, when they were deliberating about those other Matters, to consider at the same time what might be done to *Gain Them*, without doing any *Prejudice to Our selves*.

The *Scheme* was laid out, and the several Parts of it were committed, not only with the *Approbation*, but by the *Direction* of that *Great Prelate*, to such of our *Divines* as were thought the most proper to be intrusted with it. His Grace took one Part to *Himself*: Another was committed to a then Pious and Reverend \**Dean*, afterwards a *Bishop*, of our Church. The reviewing of the *Daily Service* of our *Liturgy*, and the *Communion-book*, was refer'd to a Select Number of excellent Persons, † two of which are at this time upon our Bench; and I am sure will bear Witness to the truth of my Relation. The Design was, in short, this: \* To improve, and, if possible, to enforce our *Discipline*; to Review, and Enlarge our *Liturgy*; by Correcting of some things, by Adding of others; and, if it should be thought advisable by Authority, when this matter should come to be legally consider'd, first in *Convocation*, then in *Parliament*; by leaving some few *Ceremonies*, confess'd to be Indifferent in their *Natures*, as Indifferent in their *Usage*, so as not to be necessarily Observed by Those who made a *Scruple* of them; till they should be able to Overcome either their Weaknesses, or Prejudices, and be willing to comply with Them.

How far this good Design was not only known to, but approved of by, the Other *Fathers* of our Church; that famous *Petition* for which Seven of them were sent to the *Tower*, and which contributed so much to our *Deliverance*, may suffice to shew. The "Willingness they there declared of coming to such a Temper as should be thought fit with the *Dissenters*, when that Matter should be Consider'd, and Settled, in *Parliament* and *Convocation*"; manifestly refer'd to what was then known to *Several*, if not *All* of the *Subscribers*, to have been at that very time under *Deliberation*. And that nothing more was intended than I have before said, is as evident from what was publicly declared in a *Treatise* purposely written to recommend the Design when it was brought before the two *Houses* of *Parliament*, in the beginning of the late *Reign*; and Licensed by the *Authority* of a *Noble Peer*, now present, who was at that time *Secretary of State*: In the very beginning of which there is this remarkable Passage, which I shall beg Leave to read to your *Lordships*: \* "No Alteration, that I know of, is intended but in things declared to be Alterable by the Church its self. And if things Alterable be Altered upon the Grounds of *Prudence* and *Charity*; and Things defective be supplied; and Things Abused be Restored to their proper Use; and Things of a more Ordinary Composition, Revised and Improved; whilst the **DOCTRINE, GOVERNMENT, and WORSHIP** of the Church remain Intire, in ALL the Substantial Parts of Them; We have all reason to believe that this will be so far from Injuring the Church, that, on the contrary, it shall receive a very great Benefit by it".

And now, my *Lords*, let any impartial Person Consider, what was there in such a Design that could be justly esteem'd prejudicial to the Constitution of our Church? Wherein would our *Canons* have suffer'd, if Those already made, had been more strongly Enforced; and some New Ones had been Added, for the Reformation of *Manners*; for the better punishing of *Notorious Offenders*; and to render our *Publick Discipline* more strict, and severe? This we have been Wishing for, ever since the *Reformation*: What Harm would it have done our Church had it now been Effected? Or how would our excellent *Liturgy* have been the worse, if a few more doubtful Expressions had been Changed for plainer, and clearer; and a passage, or two, which however capable of a just Defence, yet in many Cases seem harsh to some even of our Own *Communion*, had either been wholly left at liberty, in such Cases, to be Omitted altogether; Or been so qualified as to remove all Exception against Them in Any Case. If such *Collects*, as are not yet adapted to the *Festivals*; or *Gospels*, to which they belong; had been made more full, and apposite to Both: If some of the *Occasional Offices* had been Enlarged; and New Ones Added: If, for Example, there had been a greater Variety of *Prayers, Psalms, and Lessons* appointed by Authority, instead of the Compositions of private Persons, now necessarily to be used, for the Visitation of the Sick; and New Forms composed for the Use of *Prisoners for Debt or Crimes*: For the greater Solemnity of *Receiving Profelytes* into our Church; Of *Reconciling Penitents* to it; and of *Cast-ing Notorious Offenders* out of it. These were some of the main things that were then design'd: As for any favour to the *Dissenters*, None, that I know of, was intended, but what should have been intirely consistent with our Own Constitution: And I hope it will not be thought any Crime for the *Bishops, and Clergy* of our Church, to be willing to enlarge its *Communion*, by any Methods which may be likely to Gain Others, and yet not injure our Own Establishment.

But to satisfy your *Lordships* that nothing could have been designed to the Detriment of the Church; Be pleas'd farther to consider, how what was thus at first projected in private, by select Persons, and in a difficult time, when no countenance was to be expected from Authority to any such purpose; was afterwards, if ever, to have been brought to Maturity. And this being a matter of *Publick Notice*, the relation of it will admit of no Exception.

No sooner were their late Majesties, of Glorious Memory, seated in their Thrones, but this Design was openly Espoused by them. A Commission was issued out, under the Great Seal of England, to a large number of *Bishops, and other Eminent Divines*, to meet together, and to consider of these Matters. What they did, having not had the Honour to be one of them, I

\* Dr. Patrick Bishop of Ely.

† The Archbishop of York and Bishop of Ely.

\* A Letter to a Member of Parliament in favour of the Bill for Uniting Protestants: Licensed by the Command of the Earl of Shrewsbury: April 1. 1689. Ja. Vernon. Pag. 2.



shall not presume to say. This we know, that whatever they did, it was to have been carried on from Them to the two *Convocations* of *Canterbury* and *York*: And after it should have pass'd their Approbations, it was finally to have been laid before the two *Houses of Parliament*, and so to have gone on to the *Royal Assent*. This, my Lords, was the Course thro' which all that was designed, or should have been done in this matter, must have pass'd; and I am perswaded nothing very injurious to our Churches Welfare, will ever be able to pass thro' all these.

Having thus given your Lordships a true account, of that Design which Dr. S. mentions under the name of *Comprehension*; I doubt not but that your Lordships will now be amazed to hear, what a false and scandalous Report he has made of it. In the 16th Page of his *Sermon*, he thus speaks of it: "The worst Adversaries of our Church," says he, were to be let into her Bowels under "the Holy Umbrage of Sons; who neither BELIEVED her FAITH; OWN'D her MISSION; SUBMITTED to her DISCIPLINE; or COMPLIED with her LITURGY. For the admitting of this Trojan Horse, big with Arms and Ruin, into our Holy City, the Straight Gate was to be laid quite open; Her Walls and Enclosures to be pull'd down; and a Highway made in upon Her Communion. Her Articles to be taught the Confusion of all Senses, Nations, and Languages.

This, my Lords, is a very strange Representation of so Good a Design, as that I before recounted to your Lordships. Yet this Representation did this bold Man, as confidently, as falsely, make of it in the House of God; and publish to the View of the whole Nation. For thus he goes on: "This pious design of making our House of Prayer a Den of Thieves, of Reforming our Church into a Chaos; is well known to have been attempted several times in this Kingdom, and LATELY WITHIN OUR MEMORY; when All things seem'd to favour it but that Good Providence which so happily interposed against the Ruin of our Church, and blasted the long projected Scheme of THESE ECCLESIASTICAL ACHITOPHELS". To say nothing more of the Design it self, of which I have given an Account before. Pray, my Lords, who were the ACHITOPHELS that projected it; and must have concurr'd to the Execution of it? I have already named the First, and Chiefest of them, the late Archbishop SANCROFT. The next who openly approved of it, were the Commissioners who met upon it in the Jerusalem Chamber: A Set of Men, than which this Church was never, at any one time, bless'd with either wiser, or better, since it was a Church: \* Who it was that Presided in the Convocation of this Province, to which this Project was next to be referr'd; and who, had it gone on, must have had a chief hand in the Menagement of it, I need not say. Every One who knows any thing at all of his Character; (and I am sure your Lordships are none of you Strangers to it) knows him to be too good a Friend to the Establishment of our Church, to have been capable of being engaged in such a Villainous Design, as Dr. S. pretends, for the Subversion of it. Or had He been otherwise, yet still the Major part of that Venerable Body must have been as great Achitophels as himself, or no Harm could have been done by Him. Pardon me, my Lords, if the Course of my Argument obliges me to rise yet one Degree higher, and to say that the like Majority of your Lordships, and of the House of Commons, together with his late Majesty, must All have come into the Plot against the Church; or all the Skill, and Malice, of the Inferior Achitophels, would have signified nothing. And what Censure that Man deserves who has the Confidence to insinuate to the World, that the Bishops, the other Clergy, the Convocations; the Parliament, nay, and the late King himself, our Glorious Deliverer; Or at least the greater part of all these, were engaged in a Project "so Monstrous, so Romantic, and Absurd, (for here I am content to use his own Expressions) "that it is hard to say whether it had more of Villany, or Folly; in it," I shall submit it to your Lordships to consider. All I design in taking notice of this part of his Sermon, is only to clear the Memory of many excellent Persons who are dead; and to vindicate the Reputation of some still living, and in the highest Stations of the Church; from that Load of Infamy which this Rash Man has with so much Virulence of Speech cast upon them: And to let your Lordships see that nothing was intended in all that Affair but what was both Honourable to those who engaged in it; and I am perswaded would have been for the Interest and Peace of our Church and State, had it been accomplish'd.

I come now to that which is the proper Subject of the present Debate; namely to offer such Passages to your Lordships, as I humbly conceive do plainly and fully, make out the Second Article of the Commons Impeachment against the Preacher; and prove him to have spoken with more freedom than he ought, not only of the Dissenters themselves, but of the Toleration, or (as he had rather we should call it) the Indulgence granted by Law to them.

And here, as I remember, it was not deny'd either by His Council, or Himself, but that he had spoken, and spoken with warmth too, against Toleration. The only Question is, What the Toleration is against which he spake? Whether it was that which has been granted, by Law to the Dissenters? Or whether it was only against a General Toleration of Atheists, Deists, Socinians; Men of no Principles, perhaps of no Religion? Or at most against such of the Dissenters as Abused the Indulgence granted them by Law; and made use of it to Purposes not at all warranted by it? The former of these the Commons charge upon him: The latter He pretends; the better to clear himself of their Charge.

To determine this Point, I must in the first place beg leave to observe, that among the several sorts of False-Brethren, enumerated by the Preacher with relation to God, Religion; or the Church; the Second kind is of those, who give up any Point of the Churches Discipline, and Worship. Page 8. To this he adds, that those are False-Brethren who defend Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience. And that we may the better know what Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience, He means; He specifies the very Persons to whom He refers, and of whom He speaks; the DISSENTERS: "If, says he, to comply with the DISSENTERS both in publick and private Affairs, as Persons of tender Conscience and Piety, to promote THEIR Interests in Elections; to sneak to THEM for places and preferment, to defend Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, and under the pretence of

\* The Lord Bishop of London.



"Moderation, excuse *THEIR SEPARATION*, are the *Criteria* of a True Church Man; God "deliver Us All from such False-Brethren." The *Toleration* therefore, and *Liberty of Conscience*, against which he speaks, must necessarily be that of the *DISSENTERS*; those who *SEPARATE* from our Church: He names no others; but carries the same Persons thro' his whole Sentence, both before and after those Expressions. Either therefore it is no Reflection upon the *Act of Indulgence* to say that all those who defend the *Toleration* of the *DISSENTERS*, and are for allowing *Liberty of Conscience* to *THEM*, are false-Brethren with relation to God, Religion, or the Church, Page 6, 7, and such against whom we ought to pray to God to deliver Us All, Page 8: Or if this cannot with any reason be either said, or supposed, then it must remain, that Dr. S. has here said what the *Commons* charge him withal; and that in express terms, viz. That He is a false Brother who defends the *Toleration*, not of *Deists*, *Socinians*, and I know not what Monsters of Irreligion, but of the *DISSENTERS*: Those same Dissenters who by the *Act of Indulgence* have a right to that *Liberty of Conscience* of which this Gent. speaks so very hardly; and prays God to Defend Us from all such False-Brethren as shall presume to excuse it.

But not to insist upon a single Passage which may be supposed to have dropt unwarily from him. In the Second Part of his Sermon, He proceeds to shew the great Perils and Mischiefs of those False-Brethren, against whom He was before speaking, both to the Church and State: pag. 15. And that These again are the same Persons who have a right to the *Legal Indulgence* is so very clear, that I do not see how it is possible for any one to make the least doubt of it. Pag. 18. He describes them as *Occasional Conformists* to the Church. Pag. 19. As those who had the Old Leaven of their Fore-fathers still working in them: And, in the next Sentence, He expressly takes notice of the *Religious Liberty* which our Gracious Sovereign has *INDULGED* them. This in the very same Sentence He calls *THEIR TOLERATION*; (for the Doctor himself is not tied up to any Niceties of Expression; He may call it so, tho' Others may not :) These are the Persons, and the only Persons, of whom he speaks in all that part of his Discourse; let us see what he says of the *Indulgence* granted by Law to them.

And first, he tells us, Page 18. "That it cannot be deny'd, but that tho' they do submit to the Government, their Obedience is forced, and constrain'd; and so treacherous, and uncertain, as never to be trusted. That they are as much Occasional Loyalists to the State, as they are Occasional Conformists to the Church; and will betray either whenever it is in their Power, and they think it for their Advantage. That nothing but a Sottish Infatuation can so far blind our Eyes and our Judgments, as to make Us believe that the same Causes should not produce the same Effects; that the same Latitudinarian and Republican Notions, should not bring forth the same Rebellious and Pernicious Consequences. That we shall be convinced to our Sorrow, if we don't apprehend that the \* Old Leaven of their Fore-fathers is still working in the present Generation; and that this Traditional Poyson still remains in this brood of Vipers to sting us to Death. That they have advanced themselves from the *RELIGIOUS LIBERTY* which our Gracious Sovereign has *INDULGED* them, to claim a Civil Right; and to juggle the Church out of Her Establishment, by hoisting *THEIR TOLERATION* into its Place. That to convince us what alone will satisfy them, they insolently demand the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, which under Her Majesty, is the only Security the Church has to depend upon: And which (if we may believe Him,) They have so far eluded by their abominable Hypocrisie, as to have undermin'd her Foundations, and indanger the Government, by filling it with its professed Enemies." His meaning is plainly this; that the Dissenters, whom we are so foolish as to Indulge, are a parcel of False and Treacherous Persons; Enemies both to our Church and State; and such as if not timely suppress'd, will convince us to our Sorrow of the weakness and folly, of taking such Vipers into our Bosom, as watch only for a fair Opportunity to sting us to Death.

But what then must we do to secure our selves against these dangerous Enemies? Why first, the Doctor assures us, that they are never to be gain'd by any favour that can be shew'd to them. \* "That He must be very Weak, or something worse, that thinks, or pretends, that the *DISSENTERS* (for of These he still speaks) are to be won over by any other *GRANTS* and *INDULGENCES* than giving up our *WHOLE CONSTITUTION*." This shews the folly of trying the soft way of *Indulgence* with them: And therefore he concludes; That "He who recedes the least tittle from it (our Constitution) to satisfy, or ingratiate with, these Clamorous, Insatiable, Church-devouring Malignants, knows not what Spirit they are of; or he ought to shew who is the true Member of our Church.

This I think comes fully up to what is objected against Him; namely, that Doctor S. does in his Sermon suggest and maintain, "that the *Toleration* granted by Law is Unreasonable, and the Allowance of it Unwarrantable. For so it must needs be, if the Dissenters be such Men as he tells us they are; and will be satisfy'd with nothing less, than he assures us they will. And yet what next follows, is, if possible, still more express to the same purpose. It is objected against him by the *Commons*, that He had affirm'd in his Sermon, That "Queen Elizabeth was deluded by Arch-bishop Grindal, (whom he scurrilously calls a False-Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate;) to the *Toleration* of the Genevian Discipline. The Fact is not denied; but the Expressions are excus'd; and the Truth of the Allegation is endeavour'd to be made out by *Historical Memoirs*: And it is hoped that your Lordships will not account it a High Crime and Misdemeanour, to have spoken too hardly of a Prelate who has been so many Years in his Grave.

I am, my Lords, very far from thinking, that the *Commons* ever intended to charge Dr. S. as guilty of High Crimes and Misdemeanours, for speaking scandalously of that Good Archbishop. Their Concern was not for His Person, what respect soever they may have had (as all true Friends of the Reformation must needs have a very great One) for his Memory. But the Truth



of the Matter is this. The Preacher complains Page 19. of his Sermon; that Queen Elizabeth was deluded by Archbishop Grindal, to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline. "He adds, that the Arch-bishop was a perfidious Prelate, for deluding her to Tolerate that Discipline. That she found it such a Headstrong and Encroaching Monster, that in Eight Years she saw it would endanger the Monarchy as well as the Hierarchy: And like a Queen of true Resolution, and pious Zeal for Both, she pronounced that such were the restless Spirits of that factious People\*, that no quiet was to be expected from them, till they were UTTERLY SUPPRESSED. That this therefore like a prudent Princess, she did by wholesome Severities; and the Effect was, that by this means the Crown for many Years sat ease and flourishing on her Head. But that her Successor, King James, did not follow her Wise Politicks: And the Result was as Deplo- rable on his Side, as it had been Glorious on Hers. For by this means, "His Son fell a Mar- tyr to their Fury: His unhappy Offspring, suffer'd such disastrous Calamities, as made the Royal Family One continued Sacrifice to their Malice". And all this for want of those wholesome Se- verities which the wise Queen his Predecessor, had Used utterly to suppress that Factious People.

This, my Lords, is the Doctor's Narrative, and I have given it you in his own Words. The Application is plain, and Home. The Dissenters are now again Tolerated, as they were hereto- fore under Q. Elizabeth. There is a perfidious Prelate (perhaps in his Opinion a great many) who, like Arch-bishop Grindal, help to delude another Queen, into the Toleration of them. These EIGHT YEARS past (for the very number of Years is remarkable) Her Majesty has born the restless Spirits of this factious People; and had no quiet from them. It is now high time for Her to alter Her Measures, as Queen Elizabeth wisely did. It is the only way to make the Crown sit Ease, and Flourishing, upon her Head. And if this be not plainly to speak out what he would have done with the Act of Indulgence, I must despair of ever being able to know any Man's meaning by his Expressions. Such Examples are not only the most likely to inforce, but the most proper, and lively Methods to convey a Man's Sense, even to the dul- lest Capacity; and make him clearly perceive if not what he ought, yet I am sure what the Preacher would have him to do.

The truth is, so plain was his meaning, that He Himself began to fear that he had gone a little too far in what he had said of this Matter. And, for that reason, He added that One, poor Sentence which immediately follows, and of which he has made such good Use since: "That He would not be Mis-understood as if He intended to Cast the least Invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence the Government had condescended to give them, (the Dissenters:)" But what then did He intend by all this bitter Invective against them; and that very Instructive piece of History with which He concluded it? He "has told Us that the Dissenters are False-Bre- thren; Destructive both of our Civil and Ecclesiastical Rights. That they are Occasional Loyalists to the State, as well as Occasional Conformists to the Church; and will betray both, whenever they have it in their Power, and it shall be their Interest, to do it. That it must be a Sottish Infatuation to believe that the same Latitudinarian, and Republican Notions, should not bring forth the same Rebellious, and Pernicious Consequences: That we shall be convinc'd to our Sorrow, if we do not apprehend that the Old Leaven of their Fore-fathers, is still work- ing in the present Generation: That they have already made dangerous Encroachments upon the Government; and publish'd Treasonable Reflections upon Her Majesty: That they have advanc'd their Indulgence into a Civil Right, and justled the Church out of Her Establishment, by hoisting their Toleration into its place: That They have by their abominable Hypocrisie undermined the Foundation of the Church, and endanger'd the Government, by filling it with its profess'd Ene- mies: That they are Clamorous, Insatiable, Church-Devouring Malignants; Whom no other Grants, or Indulgencies can Win over but the giving up our whole Constitution: That ever since their first unhappy Plantation in this Kingdom, they have Improved, and Rose upon their Demands in the Permission of the Government: That Queen Elizabeth, who Tolerated them for eight Years together, was forced at last to suppress Them by Wholesome Severities: That this made her Crown sit Ease and Flourishing on her Head; whereas King James the first by not pursuing the like Methods ruined the whole Royal Family: That nothing better could be expected from such Miscreants, begot in Rebellion, Born in Sedition and Nursed up in Faction:" All this Dr. S. has said in these very plain, and emphatical Words. If He did not intend by all this to shew the Necessity of Suppressing these Factious People, these Vipers, who are just rea- dy to sting us all to death, I would be glad to know what it was that He did intend by it? Could He say all this, and with such a singular strain of impetuous Eloquence, and yet "not intend to cast so much as the least invidious Reflections upon that Indulgence which the Government has thought fit to give them? I must freely own, my Lords I could never have imagined this: Nay I must be excused if I add, That notwithstanding this poor Evasion, I cannot yet believe it. But the Act of Indulgence stood in his way: That Act the Queen had declared her Resolution to maintain: Your Lordships and the Commons had often shewn Your Steadiness to the same Effect. Even Those who press'd so violently against Occasional Communion, yet thought it necessary to say, in the very Preamble of that Bill, that the Act of Indulgence ought inviolably to be Observed: And therefore Dr. S. thought it needful to add somewhat that He knew would not take off any thing from the force of his Invective; yet might serve to ex- cuse the Severity of it; and be made use of to the purpose it now is, if He should chance to be call'd to Account for it. This, my Lords, I conceive to be the true meaning of that one sin- gle Passage, so utterly repugnant to all the rest of his Discourse: Nor can I put any other Interpre- tation upon it. For had I the same Opinion of these Men, their Principles, and their Designs, that Dr. S. has; I should be so far from thinking them fit to be Indulged, that I should ac- count it my Duty, and the Duty of every true Friend to our Church and Government; to take the same Methods of Wholesome Severities with them that Queen Elizabeth did: And I hope by



Grace that should I be questioned for it, I should not dissemble my Opinion; but should have the Courage honestly to own it, whatever I might chance to suffer for it.

I have, my Lords, insisted the longer upon this part of the Doctor's Sermon, because I would not willingly fall under the Censure of picking out *dis-jointed Sentences*, and putting them together from *distant Places*; that so I might the better draw a *Sense* out of them, contrary to his *meaning*. I shall trouble your Lordships but with one part more of it, to the same Effect; *Pag. 24, 25*. Where he comes to consider, *What should be the Result of his long Discourse?* I shall read it to your Lordships in his own Words, *Pag. 25*. "Let us therefore (says he) as we are unhappy Sharers of St. Paul's Misfortune, to have our Church in Perils amongst False-Brethren, follow his Example, and Conduct in a Parallel Case. He tells us in his Epistle to the Galatians, c. 2. That he was obstructed, and pester'd in preaching the Gospel, by False-Brethren unawares brought in, who came privily to spy out his Liberty which he had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring him into Bondage. To whom he gave place by Subjection, no not for an Hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with the Church. Doubtless this brave and bold Resolution, did the Apostle take by the peculiar Command, and Inspiration, of the Holy Ghost: And yet if OUR DISSENTERS had lived in those times, they would have branded him as an Intemperate, Hot, Furious Zealot; that wanted to be sweetned by the gentle Spirit of Charity, and Moderation forsooth.

Here we have again the Persons of whom the Preacher speaks: They are OUR DISSENTERS; not the Deists, Atheists, Socinians, Hypocrites, of our times. And accordingly, what follows, plainly refers to them: For thus he goes on, "Schism and Faction are Things of Impudent and Incroaching Natures: Take Permissions for Power; and advance a TOLERATION; (for so the Doctor is still at Liberty to call, what we must stile INDULGENCE) immediately into an Establishment." Your Lordships will please to observe, by the way, that this was the very thing he had before said of these same Persons, *Pag. 19*; and thereby plainly shews, that he speaks in both Places of those DISSENTERS who have a right to the TOLERATION, or INDULGENCE, granted by Law to Protestant Dissenters. Let us now hear what he would have done with them. Why he would have them "treated like Growing Mischiefs; or Infectious Plagues; kept at a distance, lest their deadly Contagion spread." And the Method he proposes in order thereunto, is this, "Let us therefore, says he, have no Fellowship with THESE WORKS of Darkness; but rather reprove them." THESE WORKS, Schism and Faction; For of these, and These only, He here speaks. This is the Peoples part; and the Inferiour Pastors: "As for the Superiour Pastors, let them do their Duty, in thundering out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's against THEM. Against Whom, my Lords? What Works of Darkness? Still the same he before mention'd: OUR DISSENTERS, Those are the Persons: Their Schism and Faction; Those are the Works of Darkness to which he refers. "And let any Power on Earth dare reverse a Sentence ratify'd in Heaven."

This, my Lords, was the last part of the Commons Impeachment upon this Second Article: And 'tis so plainly expressed by the Preacher in this Passage, that I confess it amazes me to consider with what Positiveness He has thought fit to deny that any such thing was meant by Him. The Persons whom the Superiour Pastors are summon'd to Anathematize, are the same with those, whom the Other Pastors and People, are to have no Fellowship withal, but to Reprove. These, by the necessary connexion of his Discourse, are OUR DISSENTERS; whose Works of Darkness, He states to be Schism, and Faction: Those Dissenters to whom the Government hath granted a TOLERATION; as himself, in the same Passage takes notice: Which being so; I shall leave the Doctor to Deny, and Protest, as He pleases; but when all is done, His Own Words will rise up against Him, and appear to every impartial Person so plain, and positive, as to put it beyond the Power of any artificial Interpretation to perplex the meaning of them.

And this lets us into the true Application of those Passages of Scripture, with which He concludes his whole Discourse. In which, having shewn the Danger of our Church from these False-Brethren, and exhorted his Auditory to a steady Courage and Resolution in the Defence of it; He thus at once both inforces his Doctrine, and abuses his Adversaries. That tho' the Church (for to That He applies, what † Zechariah spake of the False-Prophets that seduced the People) lies bleeding of the Wounds which she has received in the House of her Friends: A Passage first thrown at my \* self, for Defending the Princes Authority, when some of These very Men engaged as vehemently on the side of Liberty, against the Rights of the Crown, as they now pretend to stand up vigorously for it; † Tho' the Ways of Zion may mourn FOR A TIME (so the Doctor Glosses upon the Text) and Her Gates be desolate; Her Priests sigh; and she in bitterness, BECAUSE (it is the Preacher's Reason, the Text has no such Word) Her Adversaries are Chief; He means, in the Administration under her Majesty; and Her Enemies AT PRESENT prosper; (so he again improves the Text; in hopes, I suppose, that it will not be long before He shall have Preach'd them out of their Places:) \* Tho' among all her Lovers she has FEW, (the Prophet complained that Jerusalem had NONE) to Comfort Her; and MANY (Jeremiah said ALL) have dealt treacherously with her, and are become her Enemies; (He refers to Those of whom he had before spoken *Pag. 22*.) † Tho' there are FEW to guide Her among all the Sons which she hath brought forth; neither are there MANY to take her by the Hand of all the Sons that she hath brought up; (Isaiah in both places; says NONE:) Tho' her Enemies cry down with Her, down with Her, even to the Ground: That is, in other Words, tho' (the Preacher, and a few of his Friends, excepted) both the Fathers and Pastors of the Church; and the Men who are AT PRESENT in Power, and Authority, in the State, are become False-Brethren, and

† Zech. xiii. 6.

‡ Lament. i. 4, 5.

\* See Dr. A's Rights of an English Convocation; Title Page.

\* Lament. i. 2.

† Isaiah li. 18.



run in with those Enemies of the Church, OUR DISSENTERS, against it; " Yet there is a God that can, and will raise Her up, if We forsake Her not."

It were an easie matter to make many proper Remarks upon these *Passages of Scripture*, thus applied, or rather *abused*, by the *Preacher*: But that would be besides my present Business; and will fall in more properly under the last Article of this *Impeachment*. It is enough that I have, I hope, fully shewn your *Lordships* how Dr. S. has treated if not the *Indulgence* it self, yet I am sure, *Those who are entitled to the Benefit of it*: And who if they shall have the Misfortune, by this kind of *Preaching*, to be once generally thought such wicked, false, and Dangerous Enemies to our Church and State as they are here represented, I cannot think that their *Indulgence* will hold long. If they have Numbers to secure them, it is well for them: But otherwise I am sure as the Case is here stated, it must be our *Wisdom*, as well as *Duty*, to suppress them.

How Criminal such an *Invective* as this will be accounted in the Eye of the Law, I dare not presume to suggest: Much less shall I pretend to intimate what Censure it may deserve. Somewhat I think should be done to put a stop to such *Preaching*, as if not timely corrected may kindle such *Heats* and *Animosities* among us, as may truly endanger both our Church and State. As for the *Preacher* Himself; I am very willing to come into any Measures of Favour to Him, that are Consistent with your *Lordships* Honour and Justice; and will answer the *Ends* of the *Impeachment* that has been brought before Us against Him.

C

THE



T H E  
 Bishop of Norwich's  
 S P E E C H  
 In the House of Lords, &c.

My LORDS,

**I** Am very sensible under what Disadvantage in the Opinion of many, a Bishop must speak against a Clergyman that stands accused of Crimes committed by him in the seeming Execution of his Office; especially after having been so publicly required to be an Advocate as well as a Judge. And I am the more sensible of this prejudice lying against me, for having been so lately called into that Order, and for being so unworthy of it.

But I think my self obliged notwithstanding, under all these Disadvantages to deliver not only my Judgment, but also the Reasons that determine me to it: which I shall do as plainly as I can; with that deference to your Lordships, which I am sure it must upon all Occasions particularly become me to pay; and at the same time with that Freedom which I think the Importance of this cause do's at this time require.

Dr. Sacheverell stands impeached by the Commons of Great-Britain, of High Crimes and Misdemeanours expressed in the several Articles of the Charge exhibited against him: And Your Lordships have heard what they have said in support of that Charge, as well as what has been offer'd in the Doctor's Defence.

Your Lordships have also debated among your selves the Merits of the Cause as to the first of these Articles; and have come to a Resolution, that the Commons have made good that part of their Charge: In which Resolution as I did heartily concur; so I was ready to have humbly represented to your Lordships my Reasons for so doing, had there been either room or occasion for it.

Your Lordships are now upon the *Second Article*; wherein the Doctor is charged for *suggesting and maintaining that the Toleration granted by Law, is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable*; with other particulars that have immediate relation to this general Charge, and which are indeed so many proofs of it.

In this view therefore, my Lords, I beg leave to consider them; And the *First* of these Instances, in Support of this Charge, is, that he asserts that *He is a False Brother with relation to God, Religion, or the Church, who defends Toleration and Liberty of Conscience*; and this, my Lords, the Doctor do's assert in so many words. It is one of the many Marks he gives whereby we may discern who is a false Brother in those respects; not a small part of one general Mark, as was alledged very inconclusively, I think, in his Defence. For if it was to be granted, (tho' it cannot be fairly pretended) that the Doctor makes the defending of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, one Branch only of the Character of a false Brother; I do not see how it cou'd make even a part of that Character, if there was no false Brotherhood in it. And I shall not trouble my self or your Lordships with going about to settle the degrees of false Brotherhood that are in this part of the Character, because I think every degree of it is unreasonable and not to be warranted.

And therefore the Doctor cannot make it so much as a part of the Character of a false Brother to defend Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, as it is confes'd that he do's, but he must at the same time *suggest and maintain that the Toleration is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable*. For it can never be Any degree of false Brotherhood, to defend what is reasonable and warrantable: Nor wou'd even the Doctor, as inconsistent a Man as several of the Noble Lords that have spoken for him represent him to be, ever have made it one; if he had not himself condemn'd that which he blames others for defending.

The *Second Instance* alledg'd is, that he calls Archbishop Grindal a *False Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, for deluding Queen Elizabeth into the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline*. I shall not, my Lords, go about to add any thing to the full and just Vindication you have heard of that Excellent Prelate. But can any of your Lordships believe, that a Presbyter of the Church of England, professing more than ordinary Zeal for Episcopacy and the Constitution of this Church; shou'd bestow such Language on one who was the first Bishop and the Ornament of it so long; only for disposing that Glorious Queen to a mild Treatment of the Puritans of that time, which is the utmost that is pretended to be laid to his Charge, if he had thought Toleration a reasonable thing, or what was fit to be established by Law? This,



This, my Lords, I confess can never enter into my thoughts, as ready as I am to enlarge them for the admitting of any favourable Construction that will not shut out common Sense.

The Third Instance is his making it the Duty of the Superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's against Persons entitl'd to the Benefits of the Toleration. And to shew that he has done this, I need only refer your Lordships to that part of his Sermon where the Superior Pastors are call'd upon to do so; (*viz.*) the Fourth and last General Head, where he draws the Consequence of all that he had spoken before, in the following words. \* " Now what should be the Result of this long Discourse, but that if we bear any true Concern for the Interest, Honour, and Safety of our Church and Government, we ought stedfastly to adhere to those Fundamental Principles, upon which Both are Founded, and upon which their Security under God alone depends; and consequently that it highly behoves us, cautiously to Watch against, to Mark, and Avoid All those that thus Treacherously desert them. And indeed it wou'd be both for our Advantage, as well as their Credit, if such Men wou'd throw off the Mask, entirely quit our Church of which they are no True Members, and not fraudulently eat her Bread, and lay wait for her Ruin, purloin her Revenues, and ungratefully lift up their Heels against Her. For then we should be one Fold under one Shepherd; all those Invidious Distinctions, that now Distract and Confound us, lost; and we shou'd be terrible like an Army of Banners to our Enemies; who cou'd never break in upon such an Uniform and Well compacted Body. This indeed wou'd be a True Peace, and Solid Union, when we shou'd all with one Mind and one Mouth glorifie God, and not with a confus'd diversity of Contradictory Opinions, and inconsistent Jargon of Worship, which the God of Peace, Purity, and Order cannot but abhor. As it is a Maxim in Politicks, that all Governments are best supported by the same Methods and Councils upon which they are founded; so it will appear undeniably True in its Application to our Constitution, which can be Maintain'd by no other Principles, but those on which it is built, and like their Basis, the Gospel, if there's any Violation, or Breach made in any Branch of it, it shakes and endangers the whole Frame and Body. These things however little they may be represented by our Adversaries, will be found of the most considerable Consequence. Let us therefore, as we are unhappy Sharers of St. Paul's Misfortune, to have our Church in Perils among False Brethren, follow his Example and Conduct in a parallel Case. He tells us in his Epistle to the Galatians, c. 2. That he was obstructed and pester'd in his preaching the Gospel, by FALSE BRETHREN unawares brought in, who came privily to spy out his Liberty, which he had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring him into Bondage: To whom he gave place by Subjection, no not for an Hour, that the Truth of the Gospel might continue with the Church. Doubtless this brave and bold Resolution did the Apostle take by the peculiar Command, and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and yet if our Dissenters had liv'd in those Times, they wou'd have branded Him, as an Intemperate, Hot, Furious Zealot, that wanted to be sweeten'd by the gentle Spirit of Charity and Moderation forsooth. Schism, and Faction, are things of impudent and incroaching Natures, they thrive upon Concessions, take Permission for Power, and advance a Toleration immediately into an Establishment. And are therefore to be treated like growing Mischiefs, or infectious Plagues, kept at a distance, lest their deadly Contagion spreads. Let us therefore have no Fellowship with those Works of Darkness, but rather reprove them. Let our Superior Pastors do their Duty in thundering out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's, and let any Power on Earth dare reverse a Sentence ratify'd in Heaven.

Can any thing, my Lords, be plainer than that the Dissenters, and they only, are here spoken of; And what does the Doctor say in his own defence, to avoid it? His Words in his printed Speech are these:

" Schismatics, my Lords, are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounced: The Works of Darkness which I referr'd to as fit to be reprov'd, in that part of my Sermon where I speak of these Censures, are of the same kind with those mentioned by the Apostle, whose Words I produc'd; All Lewd and Immoral Practices, &c.

It is very true, my Lords, Schismatics are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounced, but I must still say they are the only Persons referr'd to, in the Paragraph I have read to your Lordships; and therefore I own I am a good deal concern'd, to find the Doctor making so vain, so unsincere a Defence. For it is not Works of Darkness in general he is cautioning against, but expressly, by a Word of his own inserting, not the Apostle's, those Works of Darkness mentioned immediately before; Schism and Faction, which with him go always together.

These are the Sins against which he calls upon his Superiour Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's; nor can the Charge be avoided by that Distinction which was offer'd in his behalf, between a Censure purely Spiritual, and an Ecclesiastical Censure. For admitting there is ground for that Distinction in a Scholastical Consideration of the general Question of Christian Censures; yet there is no room to make use of it in this case, because he calls expressly for Ecclesiastical Anathema's, which can be apply'd to none but such as are part of the Order and Discipline of this Church.

And it is certain my Lords that these Censures cannot, since the Act of Toleration, be inflict'd upon Dissenters, how much so ever their Schism remains; because it is expressly provided by an Act of Parliament, (an Act, my Lords, of the whole Christian Society, to which the Superior Pastors were personally concurring,) that they shall not be treated as Schismatics in the way of those Ecclesiastical Censures, to which their Separation would otherwise have certainly subjected them.



And tho' I cannot undertake upon Memory to be very particular, yet I dare venture to say, there have anciently been Relaxations of the Discipline of the Church, even when the Crime was thought to deserve the Continuance of it; for Publick Expedience; and better preserving the Peace of the Christian World: And that in such Cases any Presbyter or Bishop would himself have been censured, if he had not acquiesced in such Relaxations.

My Lords, a Presbyter of the Church of England, is the more obliged to acquiesce in all such Relaxations amongst us as are legally made, because he has solemnly promised at his Ordination, that *he will give his Faithful Diligence always so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and REALM hath received the same.*

I have already observed to your Lordships, how the Discipline of the Church stands at present as to the Point in question. And as the Relaxation of it in that particular, was agreeable to that Temper which the Bishops who petitioned King James, gave the Dissenters ground to expect: So I am verily perswaded that the Church is so far from having been hurt by this Indulgence, that it has received Advantage as well as Credit, from that Moderation which gave way to it. I could give several Instances of this within my own Observation; while I was Arch-Deacon, under a Reverend Prelate that sits now before me; and since I have had the Honour to be on this Bench: In which Compass of time several Men of Sobriety and Learning bred up to be Ministers amongst the Dissenters, have left the Separation, and upon due Tryal have been admitted to Orders in our Church; in which they have officiated with entire Conformity to our Rules, and to the Honour of our holy Religion.

These Instances have been so frequent and Remarkable, since the Dissenters have been exempted from the Penalties of certain Laws, above what had been observ'd before; that I think it very ill becomes any Clergyman to preach against that Exemption, as the Doctor (notwithstanding his Reserve for *Consciences truly scrupulous*) has done; and to call upon his Superiours to act in contradiction to it. He shou'd have forbore doing this, at least out of regard to her Majesty, who had been graciously pleas'd to declare from the Throne, that she would preserve the Toleration inviolable: A Resolution I shall ever think it my Duty upon all proper Occasions to express my Approbation of, as Just and Wise and Charitable, and every way agreeable to the Spirit and Genius of the Christian Religion.

I shall not, my Lords, enter into the Enquiry of what Sentences are ratify'd in Heaven: But as one may venture to say, that all that have been pronounced on Earth, are not ratify'd there; so by all I have seen of the Doctor's Spirit in these Matters, I have great reason to fear, that if the Power of the Keys was in his Hands, it would often be very sadly abused.

However he has so good an Opinion of his own Spirit, as to put his Superiours in mind of another Part of their Duty, immediately after that I have mention'd; and that is, to *promote Men of Probity, Conscience and Courage*, without which he thinks they cannot be fit Members of the Church Militant; in which I can as little agree with him as in the former demand. For if I may Judge of the Probity, Conscience, and Courage he thinks so deserving, by what appears in his Sermon, compar'd with his Speech to Your Lordships; I cannot think them Qualifications for a Minister of the Church of Christ in any respect; and I hope I shall be so happy as to find all the Reverend Prelates with whom I have the honour to sit, agreeing with me in this.

But tho' I hope such a Conduct will never recommend any Person to favour; yet I do not desire that even that which I heartily blame, shou'd be punished so much as I think it deserves. And tho' He who pleads so warmly for *wholesome Severities* toward those who differ from him, has the least Title to Your Lordships Compassion; Yet I hope he will find it as far as the just Concern you have for the Publick Tranquillity will allow you to shew it.

This I say from that which I bless God is the natural Temper of my Mind, and not from the Care that has been taken by some to intimidate as far as they cou'd, those who were to have the Cognizance of the Doctor's Cause, and were not thought to be favourable to it.

I shall not take upon me to charge the Doctor or any of his particular Friends with this Practice, as great a Temptation as one is under to do so from several Circumstances. And it is not the least, that occurs in his Prayers, which he has publish'd upon this Occasion, to represent not so much to God as to the World, that he is under Persecution, when he is prosecuted for offending against the Law, by those who in common Justice ought to be thought the fairest Accusers; and before Your Lordships, who are justly acknowledged to be the most impartial Judges.

However I will never believe, till I cannot avoid it; that any Members of the Church of England who have acknowledged the Government, much less any Clergy-man who has so often profess'd his Obedience to it in Church and State, shou'd have been any way accessory to those threatnings that have been given out, particularly against such Bishops as should happen to condemn the Doctor's Proceedings.

As far, My Lords, as I have seen of this Cause, I am likely to be one of those Bishops; and tho' I do not pretend to any great share of Courage, I am very free to declare to Your Lordships that I am in no Comparison so apprehensive of what may befall my self for condemning this Person, as I am of what will probably befall the Publick if Your Lordships shou'd not condemn him.

But that is in your Lordship's Judgment, to which I humbly submit it: And only beg Pardon for having detain'd Your Lordships so long in giving my reasons why I think the Commons have made good this Second Part of their Charge.





